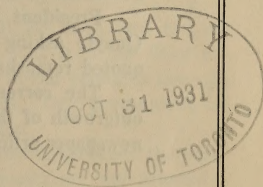


LETTERS TO A BISHOP

Correspondence between Samuel
Gompers, President of the Ameri-
can Federation of Labor, and
Bishop William A. Quayle, of
the Methodist Episcopal Church



PRICE, 5 CENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

FRANK MORRISON
SECRETARY

1920

SAMUEL GOMPERS
PRESIDENT

EXPLANATORY

On February 11, 1920, Bishop William A. Quayle, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was quoted as having made certain declarations concerning Labor and the President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers immediately wrote to Bishop Quayle asking for verification of the accuracy of the quoted remarks.

The correspondence here published in full is the outgrowth of the remarks credited to Bishop Quayle in newspaper articles, one of which is included in this record.

(From The Baltimore *American*, February 11, 1920.)

LABOR IS SCORED BY BISHOP QUAYLE

Methodist Orator Hits Out From the Shoulder—Goes For Samuel Gompers—The Bishop Says the Very Existence of Our Republican Form of Government Is Seriously Threatened Because of the Attempt of Organized Labor to Dominate Congress—Away With Gompers and His Policies, He Says

"The very existence of our republican form of government in this country is seriously threatened because of the attempt of organized labor to dominate the halls of Congress," declared the noted Methodist Episcopal orator, Bishop William A. Quayle, in an address at Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church last night. In a scathing denunciation of the means now being employed by labor unions to obtain their ends, Bishop Quayle unqualifiedly declared that any body of men who sought success through threats against the peace and prosperity of the nation were not worthy of citizenship. Such a condition as now obtains, he claimed, is a direct and deadly threat against popular forms of government.

"Labor's threat is a challenge against all we have and are in government," he stoutly maintained, "and as such it is our duty as American citizens to accept the challenge and in our strength rise up and crush the foe to our most cherished ideals. Our government is for all the people, not for any one class or faction.

"By what right does the railroad brotherhood threaten the rest of the nation with hardship, if their own requests are not granted? Who gave the coal miners the privilege of freezing the nation? I thank God there has risen up in defense of the principles upon which our great republic is founded, such men as Governor Coolidge or, as the governor of Kansas who took energetic action to defeat the forces of organized labor when their activity threatened to work evil to the citizens he was sworn to protect."

The Bishop then launched into a severe arraignment of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who he declared was more or less a blind leader of the blind. "Who is this Gompers, anyway?" he queried. "Who gave him power to tell the people of the land what they could do, or what they must not do? Was his name ever on the ticket of any party, or did Republican or Democrat ever cast his ballot for him at the polls? Away with him,

and such policies as he represents. They will, if continued in and advanced in their logical conclusion, banish political liberty from the land."

Anarchy was given as an instance of another deadly foe to the liberty of the American people. Bishop Quayle also advocated, in the course of his address, that the Kaiser should be brought to trial, and that Germany be made to pay the full measure of her crimes.

The audience approved most heartily the militant view of the celebrated churchman, and frequently interrupted his remarks with vigorous applause.

FEBRUARY 14, 1920.

BISHOP WILLIAM A. QUAYLE,
Baltimore, Maryland.

REVEREND SIR: The newspapers quote you as saying:

"I thank God there has risen up in defense of the principles upon which our great republic is founded, such men as Governor Coolidge or, as the Governor of Kansas who took energetic action to defeat the forces of organized labor when their activity threatened to work evil to the citizens he was sworn to protect."

In referring to an alleged threatened railroad strike you are quoted as having said:

"Labor's threat is a challenge against all we have and are in government, and as such it is our duty as American citizens to accept the challenge and in our strength rise up and crush the foe to our most cherished ideals. Our government is for all the people, not for any one class or faction."

I can not in justice believe that you are quoted correctly. A man whose aim in life is to make people better, to raise hopes of a future life as a reward for pure living and honesty of purpose in all their dealings, should not be charged with such utterances unless he over his own signature confirms the published reports of same.

If you did make the statements attributed to you it is undoubtedly because, unfortunately, you are not acquainted with the aspirations of the American Federation of Labor and its efforts to raise the standard of citizenship in our country.

I therefore take the liberty of sending you a number of documents bearing on the aims and objects of the trade union movement. They include the declaration of "American Labor in Peace and in War," its "Reconstruction Program," adopted in June, 1919, declarations of principles made December 13, an editorial from the *American Federationist* on bolshevism and my address before the Boston Chamber of

Commerce on the Boston police strike. I also commend for your further enlightenment "Labor and the War," which contains my speeches during those terrible times.

If after you have read these documents, which would not be asking too much because of the seriousness of the charges alleged to have been made by you, will you kindly give your opinion of the American Federation of Labor?

Is it a menace to our country?

If the American Federation of Labor was loyal during the war how can it be charged with being a menace in peace times?

Why should it be necessary for a citizen to have been voted for in an election or to hold office before he is entitled to a hearing?

The American Federation of Labor is fighting against the stealing of democracy in government from the people and the introduction of an autocracy. Does that make it a menace?

The statement attributed to you, if true, would mean that you are in favor of an autocracy in which involuntary servitude would be a benefit to the nation. I can not bring myself to believe you would take such a position.

You are reported to have said:

"Who is Gompers, anyway? Who gave him power to tell the people of the land what they could do, or what they must not do? Was his name ever on the ticket of any party, or did Republican or Democrat ever cast his ballot for him at the polls? Away with him, and such policies as he represents. They will, if continued in and advanced in their logical conclusion, banish political liberty from the land."

What have I done that you or any one else should say, "Away with him? All my life I have tried to be of service to my fellows and my country, for men, women and children. My aim is to bring light into their lives, to take the children from the workshop and factory and place them in school and the playground, in a word to make their homes more cheerful in every way, to contribute an earnest effort toward making life the better worth living, to avail the workers of their rights as citizens and to bear the duties and responsibilities and perform the obligations they owe to our country and our fellow men.

The statements printed are so important they should be answered, if made by you. Therefore, I am asking if you hold those views?

Yours truly,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President,

American Federation of Labor.

Enclosures.

CENTENARY CONSERVATION COMMITTEE OF THE
 METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
 702-706 TITLE GUARANTY BUILDING,
 ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, *March 17, 1920.*

DEAR MR. GOMPERS: I have your letter and your enclosures for which I thank you and am glad to have this conversation in writing with you and should be more glad to have a conversation vivavoce sometime if it were opportune.

I may say that as an American Citizen and as a Minister in the Church of Christ I have always been and am, a practicer of labor, and a friend of labor, and a friend of all labor that is righteous, and, in consequence, a friend of all working men whether with head or hand, working to do the things that ought to be done. I believe in the honorableness of labor and the dishonorableness of indolence. I believe that an American Citizen has a right to a job if he is honest, industrious and capable, and that no man or men or set of men have a right to hinder him in getting it. I believe in labor's right to organize as I believe in money's right to organize. But I do not believe in the right of organized labor or organized capital to do unjustly by any man or set of men of the United States people. I do not believe in the autocracy of a Kaiser or a President or a group of labor or a group of capital. I believe the United States Government is for all United States people and when any interest or individual or organization interferes with the rights of the American People then that interest or man or organization must go.

I believe that under the Declaration of Independence and under the Constitution of the United States, it is absolutely illegitimate for any man or group of men, to call any other American Citizen a scab because he does not belong to their group or organization. I hold that that must cease if America is to remain a Republic. I hold that the laboring man constitutes all who labor and that the word laboring class must not be applied to a very small minority of the laboring people, to which all honorable Americans belong, to the exclusion of the great multitude of laboring people. There must be in America an absolutely open door to any man who wants work to get it without being anything more than an American Citizen. In other words, the validating of American Citizens' rights will be when a man should only be asked when he wants a job whether he is a loyal American Citizen and competent for the job. I hold that Labor Day should include the celebration by all persons who labor and not be simply a celebration devoted to labor unions. I hope in these things, as an American Citizen, I should have my right to this view, and maintain that I have a right to this view.

I am acquainted with the declarations that Organized Labor has made and have kept posted in them all these years but am more concerned in what organized labor does than in what organized labor says, for in this business deeds speak louder than words.

Autocracy of the many is much more dangerous than the Autocracy of the one, for you can more readily deal with the one than the many. There is little meance in the rich for the reason that the poor of us so immensely outnumber the rich of us, that we can always vote the rich down and out. I am not in favor of an Autocracy of labor or capital. In the past years I have noticed with great care the operations of Union Labor, and have seen their power or compulsion brought to bear on Legislators and Presidents, to enact class legislation. Under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, when President Taft was sent a bill, that should excuse labor organizations from prosecution under that law, he vetoed it because it was class legislation. When the same kind of bill was sent President Wilson, he signed it, although it was still class legislation. As an American Citizen I have a right to hold that a law should be made for all American people and not for one class of American People. That is Americanism.

When certain union labor leaders held a watch on a President of the United States they did an unwarranted thing as every right-minded American must know.

During the recent strikes and proposed strikes, for instance the coal strike, which was at the beginning of the winter, and the proposed railroad strike, which was scheduled for the month of February, I never heard the slightest intimation in any quarter of the rights of the American People. It was proposed to freeze them by giving them no coal, and it was proposed by giving them no transportation, to freeze them and starve them. It need not require any acute observation to know that that was a thing unthinkable and which never should occur again. A few hundred thousand men can not be tolerated to administer the Government for their own special and private purposes. Government by threat can not continue if a Republic is to continue.

I have for twenty-five years been a resident in cities of the United States and a pastor in them, and intimately familiar with the facts and life of the cities in which I was, for my business is with human life, and with that alone. I have lived in Kansas City, Indianapolis, St. Paul, Chicago, St. Louis, and the like. When I was in Chicago, for more than three months, a teamster strike intimidated the city and ruled it and slew many and wounded more and was led by a man who was afterward placed in the Penitentiary in New York for crimes not connected with this event. I am now a resident and have been

for some years of St. Louis where just across the river in East St. Louis, the horrible orgy of a murder of the most brutal sort, such as burning mothers and their children in their houses, these being driven back into the houses when attempting to escape and sometimes driven back by women and this under what was reputed to be the influence of organized labor. Certainly it was not under the auspices of unorganized labor. Since that time, the black man who was the object of this fury, has been admitted to membership in the American Federation of Labor.

When the McNamaras were accused of dynamiting, the American Federation of Labor passed the hat to defend them and when these men confessed their crime, then you yourself were reported in the press as saying that they told you they were innocent and you supposed they were.

We are at one in wishing a living wage and first-class social and family conditions for the American people. Wages should be as high as the well-being, that is continuance, of business and the rights of consumers will permit. When they go beyond this and consider only the wishes of the man demanding wages they become an infringement on the stability of business and the living rights of the body of the American people.

All American citizens are entitled to the rights of any American citizen and there must be equal laws affecting all. The Union men are not as a rule poorly paid men. Often they are the highest paid men in the world in like occupations, so that it can hardly be claimed that the war of the Union is against penury in wages; and demand and supply have not been wholly supplanted in the world of business as yet, nor should they be.

To have a due regard for the rights of all is the mark of world brotherhood and world manhood. In the matter of collective bargaining your organization demands two things and denies a third thing. You demand collective bargaining and you deny and fight collective responsibility. In the steel strikes you demanded not collective bargaining for your organization only, but to do the collective bargaining for all other labor units, not allowing that they had equal rights in that with you. This is not American.

The American people have looked with favor on the American Federation of Labor because they thought it was a fight of labor against capital and the people have a determined attitude that capital shall not fatten off of man, in which I utterly sympathize and for which I utterly stand. But when the government came to control the railroads it was found that the American Federation of Labor as readily united to strike and demanded of the American people as they had of capital, so that it is

seen that not capital but the American people are the objects of your attack. The American people paid all deficits in the railroads so that demands for advancing wages were a direct levy on the taxpayers of the Republic. This having been seen, such a State as Kansas has taken the matter in hand determined that somewhere the American Citizen shall have consideration. So far as I can see, that is as it ought to be. When your organization attempted to unionize the police force of our cities do you marvel that the people applaud Governor Coolidge who stood for the rights of us all as against the demands of a few?

I should be more delighted than I can say if the American Federation of Labor would organize itself so that a friend of man such as I am, could be in hearty accord with it, and I believe it could; but at present organized labor puts a premium rather on the poorest workman than on the most skilled, which certainly does not tend to skilled efficiency. Organized Labor professes to speak for all labor, when it only really speaks for about one-tenth of the laboring people in the United States. The Federation of Labor attempts legislation and threatens to support no man for the presidency who does not agree to their program. Organized labor attempted to disrupt the official guardians of the peace in organizing the policemen into a union. The American Federation of Labor, if you may be considered its spokesman, opposed and oppose the right of America to be a sober company and a saloonless land. The American Federation of Labor professes to be empowered to prevent an American Citizen whose ancestors may have fought in the war of the Revolution and in the war of the Rebellion, from having a job if he does not belong to their organization. The American Federation of Labor has members who as commonly stated and known, are not citizens of the United States, and these same men not citizens of the United States, may freely call a citizen of the United States a scab and prevent him from having work and his family from having medical assistance or food.

It is for these among the reasons, dear Mr. Gompers, that I can not find myself in sympathy with the American Federation of Labor, and if you can show me the reason why I should, I should be very glad to be shown, but if these matters stand as I have stated, and what I stated is how I have seen these things operated, then I nor any American citizen can righteously favor the Federation until it shall have recast itself in an American mold.

Would you kindly state to me what number of the membership of the American Federation of Labor is alien membership and what number American Citizens? And will you state to me in your kindness on what authorization as American citizens some of your membership can

with the same voice demand a lower cost of living and a higher wage for themselves.

I hope you will consider my letter to be in the same frank and open spirit which you expressed in your letter to me and that we as American citizens and friends of workers and hired men ourselves, can without acrimony or misjudgment of motives, inquire into these things which as many of us believe lie at the root of American institutions.

Yours,

(Signed)

WILLIAM A. QUAYLE.

MAY 22, 1920.

REV. WILLIAM A. QUAYLE,
Centenary Conservation Committee of the
Methodist Episcopal Church,
702-706 Title Guaranty Building,
St. Louis, Missouri.

DEAR SIR: Owing to my absence from Washington for nearly three weeks, attending the convention of the organization in which I hold membership, and of which I am vice-president, and later by reason of illness and death in my family, I have been delayed in making earlier reply to your letter of recent date.

There is so much in your letter to which exception must be taken that it may not be possible to cover all the ground you have laid out. I do feel, however, that it is necessary to bring to your attention some of the most serious errors of statement in your communication. It is quite clear that you have a misunderstanding of the whole philosophy and purpose of the labor movement, and that for this reason you are unable to properly analyze its actions and understand its motives. Your misunderstanding of the labor movement has led you to make statements which are little short of amazing; as, for example, your declaration that you "believe in labor's right to organize as you believe in money's right to organize." Unless I greatly misunderstand the meaning of words, your declaration places money and men on a plane of equal value and of equal rights. I had not thought that was contemplated by the doctrine of any of the churches.

If it is necessary for me to appear to be overly elementary in this discussion, it is because your statements make it so. It may serve some purpose if, before proceeding further, I give to you a brief statement about trade unionism. The trade union movement came into being as a movement of hunger. It was made necessary by conditions. It was in the beginning formed in response to a hunger for enough to eat,

enough to keep the body alive. As it became possible to secure more food, other hungers demanded satisfaction. They demanded satisfaction through the union, because they could get it through no other agency. The demands were for more and better food, for better clothes and for better homes. It required a struggle to satisfy these needs. The struggle was frequently most bitter in character. This was so because at every step of the way it was necessary to overcome the stubborn opposition of employers who were resolved not to recede and not to relinquish any of the powers and privileges which they possessed. Through its whole history the trade union movement has been a movement whose only purpose was to satisfy the hungers and the needs of those who toil. It is today no different than it has been. Its character and its aims are as always. The needs which it seeks to satisfy may differ in nature, but they are still the needs of the human family.

I am puzzled to know what to say in relation to the beliefs you hold and to which you call attention in the early part of your letter. You do not believe in the right of organized labor or organized capital to do unjustly by anyone. You do not believe in the autocracy of a Kaiser or a President, or of a group of labor or a group of capital, and you believe the United States Government is for all the people of the country, and you believe that when any interest, or individual or organization interferes with the rights of the people, then that interest, or individual, or organization, must go. I do not suppose anyone can quarrel with these simple expressions of faith. Surely, I have no desire to quarrel with them, but I must dissent most earnestly and protest most vigorously against any effort to classify the labor movement as a movement of injustice, of oppression, of autocracy. Is it possible that you have so neglected to inform yourself as to the facts which make up the history of the organized movement of workers, that you are unaware of its constant struggle in protest against oppression and injustice and autocracy? Is it possible that you are unaware of its character as a movement of constructive effort to remove injustice from human relations in industry?

You deny the right of any group of men to deprive others of the right to work. It is your contention that this is done by the trade unions and I gather that it is your belief that this is one of the injustices of the labor movement. May I disabuse your mind. The trade union movement insists upon certain minimum standards of wages and hours of work and upon the maintenance of certain conditions in places of employment. In its constant effort to secure the establishment of these conditions it finds at times that it is necessary to refuse to give service until more suitable conditions are established. This it has the

absolute right to do. Working people are not pieces of mechanism to be distributed and employed or discarded at will. The church should be the first to recognize the contention of labor that the workers are human beings. They have all of the rights that go with life, and in America the rights that go with life are in theory equal among all the people. In the exercise of these rights, the organized workers not only find it necessary at times to cease work, pending the establishment of proper conditions, but they find it necessary to refuse to work with those who are willing to accept lower conditions and thus reduce the standard of living for all. Union men do not deny to non-union men the right to work. When non-union men accept working conditions and wages and hours of employment which tend to undermine the American standard of living and which tend to destroy the movement of progress, union men do, however, refuse to work with them. They refuse to give their service under those conditions. Surely, you will not place yourself in the position of denying to them this right.

You hold in your letter that "there must be in America an absolutely open door to any man who wants work to get it without being anything more than an American citizen." I wonder what you have had to say to the employers of America. You ask for a "validating of American citizen's rights" so that he will only be asked when he wants a job "whether he is a loyal American citizen and competent for the job." I wonder what you have had to say to those employers of the United States who in the past have brought to the United States year after year shipload after shipload of the peasants of southern Europe and of Russia, to replace American citizens in their employment, at a wage insufficient to maintain the American standard of living. I can not presume that you are uninformed as to the manner in which employers of the steel and mining industries, to cite but two examples, have brought from Europe men of different nationalities, placing them side by side so that in the babel of tongues they might be unable to understand each other and unable to act in unison to secure improvement of their conditions. It would be interesting to see what you have had to say in regard to this.

I can not believe you will contend that it is a matter of debate that working people have a right to exercise an effective voice in determining the conditions under which they shall give service. If that right is denied, then industry becomes an autocratic thing. It is then subject to the decrees of owners. These owners may be absentee owners who never see the industry, who never come in contact with its problems and who have concerning it no knowledge whatever, except the knowledge that at stated periods it produces for their use an income in the form of dividends. If, on the other hand, the working people have the right to exercise an effective voice in the determination of conditions under which they will give service, then they have a right to construct for themselves an organization that will make their voice effective. The point is not to be argued. Working people have this right. It has cost them dearly to win it, but it has been won.

It will not be relinquished. The struggle will continue until this right which has been won is made operative throughout all industry.

I find in your letter the almost naive expression that "there is little menace in the rich for the reason that the poor of us so immensely outnumber the rich of us that we can always vote the rich down and out." It is true, of course, that the right of suffrage in political affairs is a right equally open to every citizen of the United States, and it is true that any idea which can gain the support of the majority of those who cast their votes can be made operative in our country. What your statement really amounts to, however, is a covering of the truth with a platitude. There is, of course, little menace in the rich as such. No one is much concerned about any menace from wealthy persons, but when great aggregations of capital are employed in the conduct of industry, and when these great aggregations of capital are employed in accordance with a policy that is inimical to the welfare of the workers employed in that industry and to the welfare of the people in general, there is a menace with which we are all too familiar, a menace which no platitude can conceal and no sophistry eradicate. I wonder if you care to deny this?

I find in your letter much about the autocracy of labor and the "stop-watch" methods of the organized workers. If there were an autocracy of labor, it would follow that labor had the power to control the lives and destinies of the people of the country. The only power that the organized workers of America possess and the only power that they care to possess, or ever can possess, is the power to exercise a voice in the shaping of their own destinies, a voice in the fixing of the conditions upon which they will give their service, without which society can not exist. This is as far removed from autocracy as service is removed from exploitation. The coal strike is an example which you cite. It is your contention that the coal miners gave no thought to the people of the United States, giving consideration only to their own interests.

It is indeed regrettable that you should be so misinformed. It is regrettable that you should have made so little apparent effort to possess yourself of full information. I ask you what thought was given for the welfare of the people by the owners of the mines of America? The workers in the mines, compelled to exist in an employment which gave them an average of three days of work per week, exhausted every resource in the effort to secure relief from a condition which had become unbearable, before they made use of the right to withdraw their services. The owners of the mines brought matters to a point where no other course was possible. There was a refusal to continue in negotiation, a refusal to grant relief, the need for which had become imperative. Who among fair-minded, justice-loving people of the United States will contend that it was the desire of the American people that the miners should continue to exist under conditions which were intolerable, and which made it impossible to enjoy anything approaching the American standard of living? Who among fair-minded people of the United States would have sought to dictate to the miners that they must continue giving service in an industry which permitted them to work only half time, and which compelled them to live upon wages which could be earned

in that time? What have you said to the mine owners who made the stoppage of work a thing no longer avoidable? I should be pleased to read what you have had to say in this respect.

You call attention to the Teamsters' strike in Chicago, in which you say many persons were killed. Through your whole letter there runs the tone of condemnation for those who strike, but I am unable to find any note of condemnation to those who make strikes necessary and unavoidable. May I point out to you that working people do not strike because they find pleasure in striking, or because they want vacations. To strike means sacrifice. Frequently it means acute suffering. Always it means a degree of hardship which has in it no element of pleasure. The strike is a protest. It is the one argument left to workers who can find no other avenue of relief, no other argument that will prevail in the overthrow of conditions which are unbearable. It is not to be denied that lives have been lost in strikes. It is not to be denied that many have been injured in strikes. Nor is it to be denied that at times the inconsiderate and impetuous action of striking workmen has been the cause of some of these deaths and injuries. It is, however, a proven truth, an established fact, that in the vast majority of cases where violence has accompanied strikes, the violence has been engendered by the introduction into the strike of those paid by employers to bring about violence.

I am at a loss to understand your reference to the race riots at East St. Louis. Surely the whole episode was of a terrible character, but what is it that leads you to say that the epidemic of crime was "under what was reputed to be the influence of organized labor" and to add that "certainly it was not under the influence of unorganized labor"? Are you unable to find any force or factor upon which to place blame and responsibility for unfortunate occurrences in our country except the trade union movement? What circumstances, or what logic, can lead you to the conclusion that the organized workers are responsible for so many of the unfortunate things which happen? I was fortunate enough to see the findings of direct and careful investigation of the East St. Louis riots, and I have yet to find the least shred of evidence which would sustain the grotesque conclusion which you seem to have reached. May I remind you that at East St. Louis there were then, and there are now, powerful employers of labor, who at that time were dealing in a particularly unscrupulous manner with the colored workers, and that these colored workers were being brought from the plantations of the south, frequently to destinations and for purposes of which they had no knowledge, and that they were dealt with in every essential respect as if they were chattel slaves. The responsibility for the East St. Louis riots must forever rest upon the industrial situation which existed in that unfortunate city. To charge responsibility for these riots against the trade union movement, and to hold that the trade union movement caused them consciously is a gross untruth and a slander which in the name of the trade union movement, I resent. I must call upon you for evidence to support your statement, or else for a withdrawal of the statement. It is an imputation of recognized responsibility and by no means can it be allowed to stand unchallenged and unproven.

The case of the McNamaras also is cited in your letter. The McNamara brothers declared to me that they were innocent of the crime with which they were charged, and I believed them. I had not the slightest reason to believe otherwise. Money was raised by a voluntary subscription and supplied to them, in order that they might have a proper defense before the courts. This proceeding was an eminently proper one and the only surprising thing about it is that a man in your position should seek to call it into question. I must ask by what right or authority you would reverse the thought of our penal code and discard the intent of the constitutional guarantees of our country, which are to the effect that every person charged with crime is held to be innocent until proven guilty. It was not only the right of the workers, and of all others, to believe and to hold that the McNamaras were innocent until they were proven guilty, or until they confessed to their crimes, but it was their duty so to hold.

I quote again from your letter your expression that "all American citizens are entitled to rights of any American citizen and there must be equal laws affecting all." This is true, but there is another truth which might accompany it and that is, that there must be equal opportunity under the law for all. Equal opportunity is not something which is made effective by the law. Equal opportunity can come only when industrial justice is done, and it has been too frequently the case that industrial injustice has been done, not only in spite of the law, but with sanction of law. There has been no force or factor in our country that has done so much to insure equal opportunity as trade unionism.

I have not the time to go more fully into the points raised in your letter concerning the character and spirit of the trade union movement, much as I should like to. I feel, however, that I must call attention to your reference to the railroad situation and your statement that "not capital but the American people are the objects of your attack." There are in the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods something more than five million workers. It may be said safely that these five million workers represent families having a total of twenty-five million persons. The American labor movement thus speaks with authority directly for approximately one-fourth of the population of our country. Practically all of the remainder of those who work for wages in the industries of the nation are unable to speak for themselves, because they have no channel through which they can make themselves heard. These voiceless millions are in no sense unlike those who have organized themselves and created for themselves an ability to speak. Their aspirations and their needs are the same. The organized labor movement does speak with understanding and with authority for the wage-earners of our country. The wage-earners of our country must be included in any use of the term "the people." It would be impossible for the wage-earners to hold the American people as the objects of attack. The wage-earners hold no one as an object of attack. They do attack unjust conditions and they do struggle to remedy those conditions. They do seek to make life better and finer. They do seek to remove oppression and to extend in every possible direction the practices of democracy, to which our country is com-

mitted. I ask you to think more deeply concerning this and to see if after such thought your conclusions ought not be reversed.

The one remaining feature of your letter to which I wish to call attention is found on the final page, and concerns citizenship and the right to political expression. Your letter does not correctly state the political aims of the organized workers. What the working people seek to do is to defeat those who have proven false to the trust placed in them and to elect those who they have reason to believe, by virtue of their records, will be true. This is the right of every American, and it is a right which applies to any election, whether the candidate to be voted for be president, congressman, legislator or councilman. This is a right which may be exercised by the individual, expressing his own personal convictions, and it is a right which may be exercised with equal freedom by groups of persons representing their united convictions and their united determination. Undoubtedly there are those in America who wish this right were not in existence, and undoubtedly many such persons will be disappointed and perhaps injured in their material domination in the elections soon to come. If you are to be numbered among those who regret that this right of free and equal suffrage exists, I am profoundly sorry. Your letter leaves the point in doubt and I should appreciate having it cleared up. Meanwhile, the fact remains that suffrage is free and that it may be exercised in accordance with the judgment of groups, and that the American labor movement proposes to exercise in this respect the full rights of American citizenship. If this is disquieting or proves discomforting to those who stand as the sponsors for greed and injustice, and for the autocratic concept, either in politics or in industry, then be it so much the worse for them.

The fact that there are men of alien birth, or men of alien citizenship in the American labor movement, is not a matter of significance in this connection. What is of significance, and what is of importance to our country, is that these men of alien birth, thousands upon thousands of whom were brought to this country by employers who sought to lower the standards of living of American workmen, have come into the organized labor movement and found there the greatest agency for true Americanization that exists in our country. They come into a movement whose interests are rooted in the institutions and ideals of the American republic, which is and always has been the defender of its institutions and of its freedom, and which in the time of greatest trial and greatest need, contributed so mightily and so effectively to the triumph of its arms. The number of members in the American Federation of Labor who are of alien birth or citizenship is of no consequence for your purposes. It is of consequence that whatever may be the number, these alien workers are being given the opportunity to enjoy standards of living which will make of them the best possible citizens of our country, and that they are surrounded by every influence that can be brought to bear to bring them into citizenship. One of the great aims of the American Federation of Labor is to build citizenship. Some of the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will not accept into membership any applicant who is unable to produce

at least his first papers. In all cases it is urged that citizenship be acquired.

I emphasize to you the fact that the worker who comes into citizenship in the American Federation of Labor, comes into a citizenship which is truly American and which carries with it a standard of living that makes possible the kind of life most valuable to our country, the kind of life that can best understand and appreciate the interests and institutions of our country, and the kind of life which makes most impossible of achievement any effort to disrupt and destroy our civilization.

In view of the various statements in your letter to me, and in quotations attributed to you in the press, I can not but wonder whether you are familiar with the position taken by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America at its special meeting in Cleveland, May 6-8, 1919. If you are familiar with the declaration of social ideals adopted by that meeting I wonder whether you find yourself in sympathy with that declaration. I wonder in which of the sixteen clauses of the declaration of social ideals adopted in Cleveland you find the basis for the statements you have made in relation to labor. I call your attention, also, to a resolution adopted at the same meeting, one paragraph of which declares "that an ordered and constructive democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy and that collective bargaining and the sharing of shop control and management are inevitable steps in its attainment." You will note that in the declaration of social ideals there is a demand for the "gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point" and that in the resolution to which I have called attention, it is demanded "that the first charge upon industry should be that of a wage sufficient to support an American standard of life." These are two of the principal contentions of the American trade union movement. The gradual extension of organized effort in those two directions has resulted in bringing an annually increasing amount of life and liberty and freedom into the lives of the toilers of America. It will be interesting to know how you justify your own position with the position of cordial approval of our efforts expressed in Cleveland by the Federal Council.

It may interest you also to know of the declaration adopted by the Young Women's Christian Association, which met also in Cleveland in April, 1920. A convention of the International Cigarmakers' Union was held in Cleveland shortly after the meeting of the Young Women's Christian Association and the following resolution adopted by the Cigarmakers in convention will explain to you the action taken by the Young Women's Christian Association:

"We have learned with pleasure and gratification of the action taken by the recent convention of the Young Women's Christian Association in the city of Cleveland, April, 1920, in going on record favorable to the movement for the right of organization and collective bargaining; a living wage; abolition of child labor; and gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point.

"We congratulate the organization upon its enlightened new departure, and welcome the cooperation of the Y. W. C. A. and its membership, as well as all sympathetic and humane people of our country."

It is disappointing, always, to find the philosophy of Bourbonism expressed by those whose utterances command a wide hearing. It is by no means less disappointing when churchmen of high position give voice to the thoughts and the philosophy of an age and a time which we have long passed. In its best expressions the church indicates a desire to be looked upon as a leader of progressive thought and as a herald of the better day for all mankind. You are quoted as having said: "Labor's threat is a challenge against all we have and are in government and as such it is our duty as American citizens to accept the challenge and in our strength rise up and crush the foe to our most cherished ideals." The contrast between this sentiment and the sentiment expressed by the representatives of the great churches in the meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, should be as interesting to church people as it is to the workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

In closing I have to call to your attention the fact that your letter does not reply to the questions which I asked of you in my letter to you of February 14. I must insist that you answer the questions I asked you then. I think I have a right to know whether the quotations attributed to you are correct.

Did you say: "Away with Gompers"? If you did, upon what specific grounds, or upon what conduct did you base your pronouncement. Not only have I the right to know, not only has the citizenship generally of our country the right to know, but the American Federation of Labor has the right to know. You are quoted as saying "who is Gompers, anyway?" and as inquiring whether any democrat or republican ever cast a vote for him. It is my understanding that the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor is the greatest honor, save the Presidency of the United States, that can be bestowed upon any American. At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, four and one-half million wage-earners, through their chosen representatives, selected me to lead them in their fight against oppression, against reaction, against unfreedom and against that concept of industrial life which seeks to deny that the worker is a human being with all the attributes of human life.

I think it is due to yourself, and it certainly is due to the American Federation of Labor, that you leave no doubt on the question of the authenticity of these quotations. Will you do me the kindness to indicate to me whether you have been correctly quoted? Much as I dislike to believe that such is the case, the expressions used in your last letter seem to make it possible, and your silence concerning the quotations adds to the presumption that you were not misquoted. I ask, however, for a statement direct from you, so that there may be no possible chance for a mistake. I renew my request for a statement as to whether you hold the views set forth in the newspaper quotations.

Yours truly,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President,
American Federation of Labor.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
BISHOP'S RESIDENCE

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, *August 12, 1920.*

DEAR MR. GOMPERS: I have your letter relating to the newspaper report of my address in Baltimore in which I was reputed to have expressed opinions regarding the American Federation of Labor and its operations and officers.

That letter is mandatory and intimidative. From it I gather that your organization proposes to repress the public expression of opinion concerning itself and its activities.

Of course as an American citizen I am aware that this is in direct violation of our ideals and our laws.

Yours,

(Signed)

WILLIAM A. QUAYLE.

AUGUST 17, 1920.

BISHOP WILLIAM A. QUAYLE,
Baltimore, Maryland.

REVEREND SIR: I have your letter of August 12 in which you refer to my correspondence as "mandatory and intimidative" and in which you express the opinion that Organized Labor "proposes to repress the public expression of opinion concerning itself and its activities."

No, my dear Bishop, that is not the case. You are laboring under a serious misapprehension. Candor compels me to say that in your address at Baltimore you simply let your tongue wag like a common scold. When I courteously asked you upon what grounds you based your slandering remarks concerning the Labor Movement and your vituperation upon myself you apparently lacked the courage to admit that there was no basis for your unjust tirade. I am reluctant to believe that any man occupying a position as high as your own is lacking the character to admit an error so grave yet I have had no such admission from you.

Of course you can not be aware of the large number of letters I have received from both clergymen and laymen of your own faith in which your utterances are most deeply deplored and in which my courteous letters to you have been most highly commended.

Because of the sincerity of my desire for some relevant expression from you I must again call your attention to the specific newspaper quotations which called forth my first letter. I quote the following two paragraphs:

"I thank God there has risen up in defense of the principles upon which our great republic is founded, such men as Governor Coolidge or, as the Governor of Kansas who took energetic action to defeat the forces of organized labor when their activity threatened to work evil to the citizens he was sworn to protect."

"Labor's threat is a challenge against all we have and are in

government, and as such it is our duty as American citizens to accept the challenge and in our strength rise up and crush the foe to our most cherished ideals. Our government is for all the people, not for any one class or faction."

I have written you twice asking you for a candid reply. It is my desire to know upon what you base your assertions and I believe that I have the right to an answer. I have finally extracted from you your letter of August 12 which, however, deals not at all with the question at issue and which I feel sure must carry to fair-minded men a condemnation of your own course of conduct.

Yours truly,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President,
American Federation of Labor.